1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Greens

The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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including the ridge beam, projected at each end and were adorned with cowrie shells. People were afraid of these houses; they thought, "Perhaps the owner of the house, his soul, is peeping out." They have given this up with Christianity, but iron roofs supported on a post at each end are quite common for shade and to protect the grave from the wind. [765]

Various objects are placed on the grave—cups, saucers, what is left of the medicine used by the deceased, or even an umbrella. Plants with colored leaves are often planted round the top of the grave, such as pink *Dracaena*, crotons, and a plant called *vasa*.

In the old days knots were made in the reticulum of a coconut bunch or in a creeper to count the nights. A woman related to the deceased kept the record. Some people counted by tides. [211] [505]

For the hundredth night a large feast was held. On this day permitting of clothes (*vakataraisulu*) might be held; on the other hand, it may not be held for six months. Up to that time they had worn only black, a period called *tambu i sulu*, forbidding of clothes; now they cast off mourning. This is the occasion of a festival (*solevu*). They discuss what group of nobles (*mata turanga*) will be their *vis-a-vis* (*nggaravi keitou*); that group of nobles will give presents in exchange. At one funeral the relatives prepared a feast: three pigs, several pots of soup; also a sheet of a hundred pieces of bark cloth called the unbinding of the clothes (*i sere ni sulu*). One pig was for the ladies, one for Roko Sau. After discarding their black clothes, the ladies on Isoa's side dressed in bark cloth and dragged the big sheet to Great House, where they took off their bark cloth. The herald offered up the feast. Roko Sau in return presented whale's teeth, one bag of sugar, one tin of biscuits, six bales of calico, all this "to receive the feast with." There are no presents beyond the bark cloth worn by the mourners. If Ratu Finau died, his sister and others would take a sheet of a hundred pieces to his father's brother's son and it would be his duty to clothe them. When a Tui Naiau died it was the custom to invite people from Mbau, Thakaundrove, and elsewhere.

The name of the ceremony "permitting clothes" is modern. Tui Tum- [177]
bou says it came from the West in Christian times and that of old there was only a "net of the dead" or "net of death" (*lawa ni mate*). This is not a real net, but only the term used for some manufactured article. If the High Chief died a large canoe was built and named for him, and taken to Mbau. This was also sometimes done for people of less importance. The net of the dead might be taken to Tonga as was done for Matawalu and Malani, high chief. "Our kinsfolk came and took it away," they say. At the present day the net of the dead is the name of one particular article at the permitting of clothes. For the late Tui Naiau it was the ball of coir string.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

INCARNATIONS

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

MEN	WOMEN
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

●805 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuata*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa*, *vala*, mango, *nggalaka*, and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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March to April and October to November. The Tahitian chestnut is ripe on Kambara between January and March and on Fulanga and Ongea between February and April. The main digging moons (*vulai kelikeli*) are March and April when yams, sweet yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, maize, and other garden products are ripe. The term *vulai kelikeli* is used to denote especially the time of the yam and sweet yam harvest. The sweet potato harvest lasts until about November on some islands and manioc may be cut almost all year round. March is the moon when the leaves dry (*vulai mangomango* or *vulai mbotambota*).

The other seven months of the year, which include the dry season, are designated as follows: "clearing" moons (*vulai werewere*) for yams and sweet yams are roughly from May to July and the "planting" moons (*vulai teitei*) for the same crops from June to August. September is the main "sprouting" moon (*vulai tumbutumbu*) and September and October are the "*ndrala* flower" moons (*vulai se ni ndrala*), and the main flowering season. October, the month when the *mbalolo* (p. 136) is expected to appear first, is the moon of "few *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo lailai*) and November, when the large mass of *mbalolo* are expected, is the moon of "many *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo levu*).

SUBSISTENCE*

By Bernhard Tueting

Food Gathering

The gathering of food from the bush is considered indispensable everywhere in Lau, because dry years are frequent. But in years with normal rainfall most households produce enough garden foods. Households with little land or with few or indolent young men depend more upon gathering food than do more fortunate households. Most households of the Vuanikathu clan in Tokalau, Kambara, must collect food because they neglect their garden land. Vuanitavola clan in the same village needs to gather no food except greens, for the men of Vuanitavola work their lands well. The inhabitants of Fulanga and Ongea, where garden land is scarce, must gather food or increase their trade with other islands.

The inhabitants of Undu on Kambara have little garden land and seldom go to it because the food from the garden must be carried over a difficult path, or poled by canoe half way around the island. Since Undu has good bush land with many fruit trees, the natives gather larger quantities of wild fruit, nuts, and leaves than do the inhabitants of Tokalau, Lomatchi, and Nggalinggali. Tender green leaves are collected from the bush by the women of all

* This section includes food gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, and gardening.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 177 476 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by the concentration of the population in coast villages. This separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 797 805 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observation of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group. [651]